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## ΕΣ ΚΥΝΟΣΑΡΓΕΣ \*

BY

JAN BREMMER

Ancient ruler cult has long been a stumbling-block for classical scholars who were unable to accept the worship of deified men by the enlightened Greeks <sup>1</sup>). Gradually, however, this resistance has been turning into a (sometimes grudging) acceptance, a process much influenced by three factors. Firstly, the healing activities of Pyrrhus and Vespasian have been illuminated by comparing them with those of the medieval kings <sup>2</sup>). Secondly, our times, too,

\*) I would like to thank Fritz Graf and Dr. H. S. Versnel for their comments on an earlier draft of this article, and my colleague Rob van Vuurde for friendly aid.

1) For instructive examples: H. S. Versnel, *Heersercultus in Griekenland*, *Lampas* 7 (1974), 129-163.

2) Pyrrhus and Vespasian: O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, RGVV 8 (Giessen 1909); S. Morenz, *Vespasian, Heiland der Kranken. Persönliche Frömmigkeit im antiken Herrscherkult?*, *Würzb. Jahrb.* 4 (1949/50), 370-378 = id., *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Köln/Wien 1975), 551-560; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 3 (1968), 65-72 ("Vespasian the thaumaturge"); W. den Boer, *Heersercultus en ex-voto's in het Romeinse keizerrijk*, *Med. Kon. Ned. Ak. Wet. afd. Lett. N.R.* 36, 4 (1973). Medieval kings: M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges* (Paris 1924); W. Baetke, *Kleine Schriften* (Weimar 1973), 148-152; E. Gunnes, *Divine Kingship*, *Temenos* 10 (1974), 149-158; E. Hoffmann, *Die heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern* (Neumünster 1975), 62-79.

It is curious to note that in the sixteenth century, on the other hand, the examples of Antiquity were used to illuminate the experience of a healing king; cp. C. Calcagninus, *Opera aliquot* (Basel 1544), 7: "Quod Bononiae videris Franciscum Galliarum regem saliva tantum pollice in decussem allita strumis mederi, id quod gentilitium et peculiare Gallorum regibus praedicant: non est quod mireris, aut ulla te rapiat superstitio. Nam et salivae humanae, ieiunae praesertim, ad multas maximasque aegritudines remedium inest, ceu quae non veneni modo medeatur, sed si in os serpentis inspuitur, ita effervescit, ut serpentem dirumpi oporteat. Memoriae proditum est, Vespasianum Imperatorem Ro. caeco homini visum restituisset, quom salivam oculorum membranis infudisset. Quod ut à victore principe exoraret, per somnum Serapis admonuerat. Sed et Pyrrhum regem Epirotarum ferunt ingenita et admirabili vi praestitisse. Is enim



have witnessed the worship of important political figures: Bismarck, Hitler, Evita Peron and De Gaulle<sup>3</sup>). These modern ruler cults were not, it is true, integrated into the official Christian cult, but they did adopt ritual forms as pilgrimage and prayer, and used Christian terminology. Thus we find that Bismarck was called the 'deutscher Messias'<sup>4</sup>) and, curiously, 'auferstandener Wotan'<sup>5</sup>). His followers called themselves 'Pilger' and 'Wallfahrer'. As regards Hitler, E. R. Dodds<sup>6</sup>) already observed: "Hitler got nearer to being a god than any conqueror of the Christian period", and W. den Boer<sup>7</sup>) mentions a book, seen by him during the war, of children's prayers directed to Hitler. The tomb of De Gaulle became the object of a cult shortly after his death<sup>8</sup>). The most interesting case of modern ruler cult, however, is undoubtedly Eva Peron. Following her death pictures could be found everywhere of Eva with a halo and at the bottom of the picture a prayer which started as follows: "Eva Maria (*sic*), the Lord is with you. You are full of grace, etc. . . ." <sup>9</sup>). In all trade-union buildings a

quom spleneticos pressisset dextro pede, morbus decedebat. Erat eo in pede pollex divina illa facultate praepotens, qui post regis obitum, neque igni absumptus est, neque aetate contabuit".

3) Versnel (n. 1), 130. See also the material presented on the founder of the 'Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein', Ferdinand Lasalle, by G. Korff, *Bemerkungen zum politischen Heiligenkult im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Zs. f. Volkskunde 71 (1975), 202-220 = (slightly abridged) G. Stephenson (ed.), *Der Religionswandel unserer Zeit im Spiegel der Religionswissenschaft* (Darmstadt 1976), 215-230.

4) The material on Bismarck has been collected by H.-W. Hedinger, *Der Bismarck-kult*, in Stephenson (n. 3), 200-214. It is hardly surprising that we find a comparison of Bismarck with Odin by U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Rede zur Feier des hundertjährigen Geburtstages des Fürsten Bismarck* (Berlin 1915), 19.

5) It has seemingly escaped Hedinger that C. G. Jung, *Aufsätze zur Zeitgeschichte* (Zürich 1946), 1-24, has discussed the importance of Wodan in the times before World War II.

6) E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1951), 259 n. 34. See also N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London 1970<sup>3</sup>), 125.

7) W. den Boer (n. 3), 18 n. 33.

8) Versnel (n. 1), 130. Napoleon may also be mentioned; cp. W. Friedlaender, *Napoleon as 'roi thaumaturge'*, JWCI 4 (1941), 139-141; H. Deléhay, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Bruxelles 1966), 318-325 ("La légende de Saint Napoléon").

9) P. Lux-Wurm, *Le Péronisme* (Paris 1965), 105 f. Pictures can be seen



little temple containing her portrait was inaugurated <sup>10</sup>). The trade-union of the food-industry even lanced an (aborted) attempt to have her canonized, which would have meant the complete integration into the Christian cult <sup>11</sup>).

The third factor has been the growing quantity of epigraphical material <sup>12</sup>). Where literary testimonies could be and were explained away, inscriptions proved to be incontrovertible evidence. Yet, literary testimonies also still deserve attention, as was recently illustrated in this journal by H. S. Versnel <sup>13</sup>) in a discussion of Clemens Alexandrinus *Protr.* 4, 54 νῦν μὲν τὸν Μακεδόνα τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης τὸν Ἀμύντου Φίλιππον ἐν Κυνοσάργει νομοθετοῦντες προσκυνεῖν, τὸν τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα καὶ τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, ὃς ἐξεκόπη τὸν ὀφθαλμόν <sup>14</sup>). Starting from the dubious reputation of Kynosarges acquired in the fifth century through the presence of the *nothoi*, continued in the fourth by the Cynics <sup>15</sup>), and the connection of

in *Eva Peron Immortal*, an undated publication of the 'Servicio Internacional Radiofonico Argentino', issued not so long after her death.

10) L. Mercier Vega, *Autopsie de Peron* (Gembloux 1974), 238.

11) Lux-Wurm (n. 10), 105.

12) Exemplarily collected and evaluated by Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (München 1970<sup>2</sup>).

13) H. S. Versnel, *Philip II and Kynosarges*, *Mnem.* IV 26 (1973), 273-279 (henceforth Versnel).

14) M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II (München 1961<sup>2</sup>), 142, suggested that the polemic tone of the passage proves that it had been borrowed from an ancient source. The passage has now been partially identified by Versnel as deriving from Demosthenes *De Corona* 67. This leaves us, in my opinion, still in the dark about Clement's source, since there is no reason why Clement himself could not have taken Philip's description from the *De Corona*, which was the most popular one of Demosthenes' orations in Egypt; cp. P. J. Sijpestein, *Les parchmins et les papyrus de Démosthène trouvés en Égypte*, *CE* 28 (1963), 297-305. This popularity can be judged from the great number of papyri found; see R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1965<sup>2</sup>), 34 f.; A. Henrichs - L. Koenen, *Drei Demosthenespapyri*, *ZPE* 3 (1968), 113-123; *P. Oxy.* 3009. The latter papyrus and similar ones are discussed by H. Wankel, *Zu P. Oxy. 3009, P. Haun. 5 und den Urkunden in der Kranzrede des Demosthenes*, *ZPE* 16 (1975), 151-162.—C. Mondésert - A. Plassart, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Le Protreptique* (Paris 1949<sup>2</sup>), 117, take the end of the quote to be πεπηρωμένον, but Clemens evidently also derived ὃς ἐξεκόπη τὸν ὀφθαλμόν from Demosthenes' τὸν ὀφθαλμόν ἐκκεκομμένον.

15) Does not the answer of Diogenes, *Lucian Vit. Auctio* 8, rather point to Heracles as the Cynic hero than to a connection with Kynosarges, other-



Philip, a lover of humour <sup>16</sup>), with the γελωτοποιοί who resided in Kynosarges, Versnel reached the convincing conclusion that this προσκύνησις contained a false bottom.

This suggestion is supported by an additional piece of evidence: the disreputable name of Kynosarges also reflected itself in a curse ἐς Κυνόσαργες which was used ἐπὶ ὕβρει καὶ ἀρᾷ <sup>17</sup>). According to Eustathius (1340.57), it meant ἐς κόρακας <sup>18</sup>) 'go to hell'. This agrees with Diogenianus 4, 86 Ἐς Κυνόσαργες, Ἐς ἀνηλίου πύλας· ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ αὖται. A similar explanation is most likely to be found in Zonaras s.v. Κυνόσαργες· μακράν, for which Tittmann <sup>19</sup>) suggests μακαρίαν, in which we recognise ἐς μακαρίαν <sup>20</sup>), a euphemism for ἐς κόρακας.

Shortly after Versnel's article there appeared a discussion of the *nothoi* by Sally Humphreys, who arrived at the conclusion that there was no stigma attached to association with Kynosarges—

wise unattested? Cp. G. Höistad, *Cynic Hero and Cynic King* (Lund 1948), 33-50; G. K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford 1972), 106 f. K. von Fritz, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Leben und Philosophie des Diogenes von Sinope*, *Philologus Suppl.* 18 (1926), 49, observes: "von den Schülern des Antisthenes ist nur Diogenes zu Bedeutung gelangt, und weder dieser selbst noch seine Jünger haben irgendwelche Beziehungen zum Kynosarges gepflegt". The connection of Kynosarges with the Cynics was, however, still enough alive for Zeno's pupil Ariston to show his turn towards the views of the Cynics by lecturing in Kynosarges; cp. Diog. Laert. VII 161.

16) For Philip as lover of humour, see also the description of his own jokers in Athen. X, 435 c = Theopompus FGH 115 F 236. R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London 1973), 51, believes that these jokers served the same function as the later court fools, but these derive from a different tradition; cp. E. Welsford, *The Fool: His Social and Literary History* (London 1935); G. Widengren, *Harlekintracht und Mönchskutte, Clownhut und Derwischmütze*, *Orientalia Suecana* 2 (1953), 41-111; W. Willeford, *The Fool and his Sceptre* (Evanston, Ill. 1969).

17) Schol. Ps. Plato *Axio.* 364 a; Paus. Gr. 18 Erbse; Suda, s.v. Εἰς Κυνόσαργες; Apostol. 6, 66; L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* (Leipzig 1828), 230 f.; E. L. Leutsch - F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, I (Göttingen 1839), 398.

18) A popular saying: Crat. 73, 87; Ar. *Av.* 28, *Eq.* 892, 1314, *Nu.* 123, 233, 789, *Pax* 1221, *Ra.* 189, 687, *Th.* 1226, *V.* 51, 982; Plut. *M.* 860 e; Athen. VIII, 352 b, and XIII, 610 c.

19) J. A. H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon*, II (Leipzig 1807), 1272 n. 98; Jacoby on Demon FGH 327 F 7.

20) Ar. *Eq.* 1151; Pl. *Hipp. mai.* 293 a; Antiph. fr. 245 K.



her main witness being Alcibiades <sup>21</sup>). This is somewhat surprising. Surely, the connection of a place with Antiquity's most notorious *enfant terrible* cannot be adduced as evidence for a good reputation of that place! Besides, her conclusion is fully invalidated by the fact that she not only neglected the curse, but did not even take into account the connection of the Cynics and γελωτοποιοί with Kynosarges, a methodological backsliding compared with Versnel's analysis.

The origin of the curse is obscure. Perhaps it arose after the connection of the *nothoi* with Kynosarges. It seems more attractive, however, to take it as evidence of the marginal character of Kynosarges, which might well have existed before the introduction of Pericles' measure and which will have been responsible for the connection of the *nothoi* with Kynosarges in the first place. This marginal character of Kynosarges will certainly have been the reason, too, for its choice by the γελωτοποιοί <sup>22</sup>). As real jokers they must have chosen the place because there was something about it which made the place less acceptable for the average Athenian <sup>23</sup>).

Since Versnel concentrated on the 'false bottom' aspect of Philip's προσκύνησις, there is room left for some suggestions regarding its exact place and time. For human and divine honours four places have to be considered: the acropolis, the agora, gymnasia, and sanctuaries <sup>24</sup>). From these the first two are obviously not relevant to our case, which leaves us the Herakleion and the gymnasium of Heracles. Nilsson <sup>25</sup>) thought of a connection with

21) S. C. Humphreys, *The Nothoi of Kynosarges*, JHS 94 (1974), 88-95. See also D. M. Macdowell, *Bastards as Athenian Citizens*, CQ 26 (1976), 88-91; G. Cimino, *Il problema dei nothoi e il filopericleismo erodoteo in Hdt. I*, 173, ASNP 6 (1976), 9-14.

22) On the Athenian γελωτοποιοί, cf. S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period* (Cambridge 1958), 16-19. On the marginality of jokers and related figures, M. Douglas, *Social Control of Cognition. Factors in Joke Perception*, Man 3 (1968), 361-367 = idem, *Implicit Meanings* (London 1975), 90-114; A. C. Zijderfeld, *Humor und Gesellschaft* (Köln/Graz/Wien 1976).

23) Compare the behaviour of the *kakodaimoniastai* of Lysias fr. 53, 2.

24) Habicht (n. 12), 140-144; A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, I (Oxford 1971), 243.

25) Nilsson (n. 14), 142.



the Herakleion, De Sanctis <sup>26)</sup> and Lily Ross Taylor <sup>27)</sup> opted for the gymnasium. There is seemingly much to say in favour of the latter point of view, because a connection of the ruler cult with the gymnasium is well testified. Thus we find Ptolemy II Philadelphus in Salamis <sup>28)</sup>, Eumenes II in Ephesus <sup>29)</sup>, Ptolemy IV Philopator in Samos <sup>30)</sup>, and similar examples all over the Greek world <sup>31)</sup>. However, this connection becomes apparent only in later Hellenistic times <sup>32)</sup>. For that reason the Herakleion must be the more likely place.

Till now no occasion seems to have been suggested on which the Athenians would have wished to raise a statue for Philip. Yet there is a most likely occasion: we happen to know that in 338-337 Philip gave Oropos and its territory to Athens <sup>33)</sup>. I imagine that the pro-Macedonian party in Athens suggested placing a statue, as a token of gratitude, in a temple of Heracles, Philip's ancestor. The opponents will have agreed and maliciously suggested, as regards its destination: ἐς Κυνόσαργες!

26) G. de Sanctis, RFIC 18 (1940), 9 n. 2.

27) L. Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown 1931), 12.

28) J. Pouilloux, BCH 95 (1971), 569.

29) J. Keil, AAWW 88 (1951), 331 f.; cp. J. et L. Robert, REG 63 (1953), 169 no. 178.

30) E. Preuner, MDAI (A) 28 (1903), 358.

31) L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris 1937), 69, 175 f., 201, 239, 452; E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca 1947), 422; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX (1950), 23 n. 10; id., *Hellenica* XI-XII (1960), 124 f.; Nilsson (n. 14), 60 f.; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, II (Amsterdam 1969), 739, 814; J.-P. Michaud, BCH 95 (1971), 1036; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II (Oxford 1972), 353 n. 149; D. Burr Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience. Aspects of the Ruler-Cult* (Oxford 1973), 121.

32) J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960), 342-346, 353 f.

33) Paus. I 34, 1. L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII (1960), 189-196, collects and discusses the available evidence.